

## Bid of Congress (R) to Confuse the People

It seems that the Indira Congress is busy in giving a polish to its "progressive" plumage. The flow of words against communalism, left adventurism, Right reaction and vested interests and the call for left consolidation marking the last AICC session are indicative of it. The purpose of it is obvious—to create confusion and stem the tide of increasing disillusionment of the masses about the Congress.

It will be self-complacency, if it is taken for granted that this propaganda stunt by the ruling Congress will have no effect on the minds of the people. It goes without saying that this stunt, like all other stunts, is sure to fail in the long run. But it cannot be denied also that the posture of so-called radicalism by the ruling Congress has succeeded to some extent in creating confusion not only among the politically unconscious people but among some so-called left parties in our country. That the CPI regards the Indira Congress and the Government led by her as progressive in some respects is known to our people; because the CPI itself makes no bones to admit it in public. But the fact that the CPI(M) also travels on the same track under cover of different words and phrases is not thoroughly clear to the masses. We, therefore, request our readers to refer to the resolution of the Central Committee of the CPI(M) published in the **People's Democracy** dated 15th February last.

This resolution *inter alia* observes that "...the Indira Gandhi wing also contains within its fold a *healthy trend which hates big landlords and monopolists*. Despite the support its leaders seek and receive from the foreign monopolists and Indian reactionaries, it has raised certain slogans and taken certain measures which are *in tune with the anti-monopoly democratic aspirations of the people*. Above all, its political line is such that the biggest danger

threatening the democratic movement in the country—the *danger of Hindu communal reaction is sought to be opposed.*" (Italics ours—Editor, P.E.)

From this resolution three things come out clearly. First, the CPI(M) also, like the CPI finds in the Indira Congress anti-big-landlord, anti-monopoly trend. Secondly, in the opinion of the CPI(M) leadership the political line of the Indira Congress seeks to oppose the danger of Hindu communal reaction. And thirdly, according to the CPI(M), this "healthy trend" finds its expression in "certain slogans" raised and "certain measures" taken by the Indira Congress "which are in tune (Continued to page 3)

### Specimen of Ram Raj

Over and above several thousands of men under the Eastern Frontier Rifles (West Bengal Battalion), Railway Protection Force and Industrial Security Force now stationed here, at present in West Bengal there are roughly 18,500 and 45,000 policemen, including officers, under the Calcutta Police and the West Bengal Police respectively, 40,000 Home Guards, 10,000 National Volunteer Force, 35,000 Chowkidars and Dafadars and 3500 Central Reserve Force, making a total of 1 lakh 52 thousand hands performing regularly or irregularly the work of police. In other words, it means that for every 216 persons above the age of 5 years there is one policeman in the State approximately. A good specimen of Congress Ram Raj indeed!

# Proletarian Era

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## HEROIC STRUGGLES BY PEASANTS IN SUNDARBANS

(By a Staff Reporter)

Reports of barbarous police atrocities against the landless and poor peasants and agricultural labourers, in Pathar Pratima P.S. in the Sundarban area of West Bengal, supporting our **Party** and our peasant organisation, **Krishak & Khet Majoor Federation**, and the latter's heroic resistance movement have reached us.

At Bahirchak village when the rural poor moved to foil the jotedars' anti-social activities to smuggle rice and paddy out of the area with a view to black-marketing, the policemen posted at the local camp sided with the jotedars. But before the organised movement by the villagers the police and the jotedars had to retreat. But thereafter two platoons of armed policemen were sent to the village from Raidighi. Five to seven thousand peasant women with red flags in their hands assembled on the other side of the small river and held the armed policemen at bay for hours together. With fresh reinforcement the police crossed the river and in collusion and active participation of the local jotedars raided the houses of the poor peasants and agricultural labourers, demolished to the ground about 100 huts of them, looted everything, which the police and the jotedars could lay their hands on, arrested and seriously assaulted them with lathis and butt-ends of the guns, as a result of which Shri Sudhir Jalani, Shri

Mustafa Halder and 25 others were in a precarious condition and wife of Shri Bansari Paik had sustained serious fracture of her arm and in the absence of Shri Kartick Halder at his house raped his wife, Sm. Gouri. The whole matter was brought to the notice of the District Magistrate concerned immediately. The Governor had also been informed. But no action against the guilty police officials and the jotedars had been taken. At another village named Shridharpur under the same police station the Circle Inspector of police accompanied by many armed policemen and Banamali Gure, Gurupada Tang, Nirapada Maity, and other local jotedars supporting the CPI(M) raided the houses of our supporters, looted their properties, severely assaulted them and made indiscriminate arrests. Even during the President's Rule in West Bengal a section of the police and bureaucracy is still hand in glove with the CPI(M) in the latter's drive to liquidate by violent means other left and democratic parties.

## US Rulers Fabricate Falsehood

On 2nd August, 1964 the World heard the sensational announcement that the US cruiser **Maddox** and the SS **Turner Joy** had been fired upon by North Vietnamese U-boats in the international waters in the Gulf of Tonkin some 65 miles off from the coast of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. On 4th August President Johnson issued orders to retaliate. On the strength of this order by the President, the US naval forces on the same day sank two torpedo boats belonging to the DVR.

Next day American jet planes started bombing offensive against the socialist state of the DVR. On the 7th August, 1964 the hated Tonkin Resolution providing the US rulers with constitutional basis to carry on undeclared war of aggression against peace-loving patriotic people of the DVR and send five lakhs and a half of US ground troops to South Vietnam was adopted by the US Senate.

The US story of North Vietnamese attack on the US naval unit was a concocted story unworthy of belief. We, in an article entitled **On Tonkin Crisis** published in the November, 1964 issue of the **Socialist Unity**, wrote; "The story of attack of the US warship by the North Vietnamese U-boats in the Gulf of Tonkin, as made out by the Pentagon, is a cock and bull story unworthy of credence." Facts have proved that we were cent per cent right in our reading about US plea for bombing North Vietnam and sending lakhs of ground troops to South Vietnam in utter violation of 1954 Geneva Agreement on Vietnam.

In the face of mounting movements by the peace-loving democratic section of the American people the **Senate Foreign Relations Committee** was compelled to make a probe into the alleged incident of North Vietnamese attack on US naval unit in the Gulf of Tonkin. It was clearly established before the **Foreign Relations Committee** that there had been

no attack on US warships as alleged. William Bundy, Under-Secretary of State, had to admit that the Tonkin Resolution was prepared several weeks in advance and kept ready for use according to convenience. This US fraud to cheat its own people as also the peoples of other countries was thoroughly exposed in January, 1968.

But even after this, the US rulers were not ready to rescind the Tonkin Resolution and make amends for the unprovoked bombing offensive against the DVR. On the contrary, the industrial military complex, that is actually ruling the USA, backed by administration tried its best to foil the rescission of the Resolution. But before the rising surge of demonstrations by the US students against Nixon administration the Senate had to annul the Tonkin Resolution on 24th June last.

This fact once again establishes that nothing is too low for the US imperialists to satisfy their bellicosity and start and continue unjust barbarous wars in other parts of the globe against the peoples struggling for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. That as in the past even now the US imperialists fabricate false stories as plea for carrying on aggression against peaceful peoples of other countries is as clear as daylight from this incident. Those in our country, who still harbour some illusion about the USA, must take

## By The Way

In the Con Son Island prison in South Vietnam, prisoners are kept like animals in small "tiger cages" and are never allowed out. They have the minimum amount of food, are given little water and many are forced to drink their own urine. They are punished by having choking lime thrown on them. Nearly all of them (hundreds of men and women) have never been tried and convicted. This state of affairs, in spite of every effort by the 12-man Committee of the US House of Representatives to hush up the facts, has been disclosed by the staff aide of the Committee, Mr. Thomas Harkin. Another example of 'humanitarian services' the US advisers are rendering to make the 'uncivilised' Vietnamese people 'civilised'!

In 1947-48 the total assets of the companies controlled by the Birlas amounted to Rs. 40 crores. They rose to Rs. 509 crores in 1966-67. They are estimated to be Rs. 600 crores now. What can the Birlas do for this fifteen times rise in their assets during the post-independence period? With the blessing of Bapuji and "sympathy" of Jyoti Basu as their capital, the Birlas are only performing their sacred duties as "trustees for the welfare of the labouring classes under them" entrusted to them by no less a person than the father of the nation himself.

Sm. Indira Gandhi had given a call from the platform of the AICC for left consolidation, implying thereby that her Congress is a left party. It is reported that "the Akali Dal is prepared to make several adjustments in its policies and programmes to come closer to the Congress (R) as a member of the all-India Leftist alliance". Thus, the Akali Dal also claims itself to be a left party. Thanks to the parties, that move in our country with the name Communist, the SSP, PSP, DMK and even the Progressive Muslim League have all become leftist in the same way. The day is perhaps not very far off when the Jan Sangh, Swatantra and the Congress (O) also will call themselves left. What can be better arrangement? No body will then be left out of the list of left parties.

Shri Prakash Dutt Bhargava, Sanghchalak of Delhi RSS, is reported in the **Times of India** to have said that the prohibitory order by the Government banning drills with or without arms in Delhi "will not affect RSS Shakhas". There is nothing to be surprised at it. Those who were elated by the phonic performances of Sm. Gandhi and her associates at the AICC session against Hindu communalists, expecting that strong measures would soon be taken against communal organisations, like the RSS, will now realise that the performances were meant for public consumption for creating ground for election and never meant to be followed by action. An interesting example of sound and fury signifying nothing indeed!

lesson from this glaring instance of unabashed falsehood practised by the US rulers, taking the plea of which they had been continuing their bombing of North Vietnam against all canons of civilisation and international law.

## CPI (M) Sees Progressive Trend in Congress (R)

(Continued from page 1)

with the anti-monopoly democratic aspirations of the people." What better testimonial can be given to Sm. Indira Gandhi and her Congress! This is how the CPI(M) makes class assessment of the ruling Congress.

Now let us take up the points for examination. We take the last point first. Marxism-Leninism has always warned the working people not to harbour any illusion about slogans advanced by the bourgeoisie, not to be misled by such slogans in any event. Lenin's severe criticism of Kautsky for the latter's attempt to judge parties by their slogans and documents is a pointer in this regard. Lenin wrote: "Kautsky is pursuing a characteristically petty-bourgeois philistine policy by pretending...that putting forward a slogan alters the positions. The entire history of bourgeois democracy refutes this illusion; the bourgeois democrats have always advanced and still advance all sorts of 'slogans' in order to deceive the people. The point is to test their sincerity, to compare their words with their deeds, not to be satisfied with idealistic or charlatan phrases, but to get down to class reality." (The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky)

How then can the Central Committee of the CPI(M) be so much enamoured of the catchy slogans raised by the ruling Congress and take them as manifestations of its real hate against big landlords and monopolists? Every one knows that Hitler and Mussolini raised the slogan of socialism. But the class reality at the bottom of their slogan was attempt to establish fascism. We need not take the name of Hitler and Mussolini to establish our point. The history of the Congress itself will testify to it. Has the Congress honoured any assurance given by it to

the Indian people before the country had achieved political independence? Are we not experiencing every day the impact of the slogan of socialist pattern of society to our unbearable sufferings? Empty slogans indicting big landlords and monopolists break no bones so long as they are not followed by appropriate actions. And no real anti-monopolist action has been taken by the Congress as yet. In the circumstances, is not the attempt by the CPI(M) leadership to judge the Indira Congress by "certain slogans" raised by it a specimen of petty-bourgeois philistine policy? We request the ranks of the CPI(M) to please ponder.

The CPI(M) leadership may argue that not on the basis of certain slogans alone but on the strength of certain measures, which the ruling Congress has taken, it has come to the conclusion that the Indira Gandhi wing of the Congress has progressive trend in it. Very well. But what are these measures which reflect "anti-monopoly democratic aspirations of the people"? The Central Committee of the CPI(M) has certainly the bank nationalization issue in mind. Let us examine it on the anvil of Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin advised the revolutionaries not to be satisfied with charlatan phrases but to get down to class reality. What is the class reality at the bottom of bank nationalization by the Indian capitalist state? Is it a recognition of the anti-monopoly democratic aspirations of the people? We elaborately discussed in our issue dated October 3 last the question of bank nationalization in our country. We, therefore, do not intend to deal with all the points discussed there in the present article. We shall only mention the main point here, which is as follows: "...it is one thing to support the demand for

nationalization of banks and other key and basic industries by the toiling millions engaged in fierce revolutionary struggle for emancipation from the yoke of capitalist exploitation while it is quite a different thing to hail an act of the bourgeoisie nationalizing them. For, in a capitalist state when the bourgeoisie takes recourse to nationalization, it does so in the aggregate interest of capitalism precisely to bring about a coalescence of monopolies with the state and thereby virtually subjugating the state to the interest of the monopolists. In this way the rock bottom foundation stone of fascism is laid. So, it cannot be the business of any progressive party or individual, not to speak of the revolutionaries, to extend support to or praise the act of bank nationalization by the Indian bourgeoisie. On the contrary, it is high time that a note of caution should be sounded to the working class and other sections of the toiling masses that if they fail to step up their revolutionary struggle, overthrow the bourgeoisie and capture state power, the nationalized industries will be a constant source of more ruthless exploitation. The workers and other exploited masses of the people should, therefore, close up their ranks and be more vigilant against the possible counter-revolutionary offensive by the Indian bourgeoisie under various cloaks of so-called radical Social-Democratic measure." This is the class reality at the bottom of bank nationalization by the Indira Government. Not to see it and, on the contrary, to regard it as a recognition of the anti-monopoly democratic aspirations of the people is to abandon class position and behave as the garden lackey of the bourgeoisie.

Now let us take up the second point. According to the CPI(M)'s analysis, the political line of the ruling Congress seeks to oppose the

danger of Hindu communal reaction. In the face of glaring instances to the contrary can any democratic party or individual laud the political line of the Indira Congress as opposed to Hindu communal reaction? According to the review prepared by the Union Home Ministry, major communal riots in India numbered 132 in 1966, 220 in 1967 and 447 in 1968 and the first quarter of the year 1969. Leaving aside for the present the figures for earlier period, the total number of communal riots of serious nature during the 39 month period ending in March, 1969 is 799. Against whom these riots were directed? The minority community, to be more precise, against the Muslims. And who suffered the most in these riots? Again the Muslims. During the period 1954-62 54 Hindus were killed as against 262 Muslims—figures given by a special correspondent. And all this has taken place when the Congress leaders, who are now stalwarts of the Indira Congress, had been wielding ministerial power. We can even take up recent events for examination. Take, for instance, the case of the communal holocausts at Bhivandi and Jalgaon. Is it not a fact that because of a close liaison and friendly relation with the Shiv Sena the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, a stalwart of the ruling Congress, did not take any step to prevent the coming riots, even though he was duly alerted by the Central Intelligence in time? Who does not know that the ruling Congress, to regain ministerial position in Punjab, has been friendly with the former Akali leaders who have joined the Congress? It is as clear as day light that the Jan Sangh and the RSS could not continue for years their communal activities in Delhi under the very nose of the Central Government had not the

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# UNEMPLOYMENT, INHERENT CURSE OF CAPITALISM

The Third Five Year Plan was completed in 1965-66. Thereafter three annual plans had been implemented. Now the country is passing through the Fourth Five Year Plan period. Each time a Five Year Plan was started, the leaders presented to the people rosy pictures of better future with better material and cultural conditions of life. But in spite of great fanfare, these assurances to the people have ever remained as elusive as before; rather their present had become worse with the completion of each Plan compared to their past.

Take for instance the employment position. The people have been assured all the time that the Plans would create many fresh avenues of new employment, providing employment to our youths and reducing the acuteness of the unemployment problem of the country. But the reality has been just the reverse. It may be that several thousands of persons have got new employment but many more thousands have lost their jobs, resulting in the further swelling of the number of unemployed persons during the period of the Plans.

We shall cite some examples of *en masse* retrenchment of workers and employees in some of the industries. Take the case of cotton textiles. During the period of five years from 1964 to 1969 the number of workers in the cotton textile industry came down by about 13 lakhs. In coal mines during the same period the number of workers was reduced by 42 thousands. In jute industry during the last one year more than 25 thousands of temporary and *badi* workers had lost their employment. The average number of workers employed in factories in Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Punjab and West Bengal came down by 6 thousands, 14 thousands, 10 thousands and 48 thousands respectively during the two years from 1965 to 1967. Figures for subsequent years are more staggering.

The trend of increasing acuteness of the unemployment problem will be evident from the figures of employment-seekers as obtained from the employment exchanges. It will be clear therefrom that with the completion of each Five Year Plan the number of unemployed persons has increased in place of showing any downward trend. The following table will show it.

Year	No. on the live Register
1956	7.58 lakhs
1961	18.32 „
1966	26.22 „
1968	30.12 „
1969	34.25 „

It goes without saying that these figures of the unemployed persons registered with the employment exchanges do not give a correct picture of the exact position. Because, all employment-seekers have not the opportunity of registering their names with the employment exchanges. Nor does every unemployed person register his or her name out of frustration at the futility of getting their name registered with the employment exchanges. According to the Reserve Bank of India, the backlog of unemployed persons at the end of the Third Plan was 96 lakhs, which has gone up to 1 crore 26 lakhs at the end of the three annual plans thereafter. Even this figure is definitely an understatement; the actual number of unemployed persons, who are willing to work, in our country

is many times higher.

We all know that unemployment is the inherent curse of capitalist society. Capitalist society, to create favourable conditions for the capitalist employer class to employ workers at the lowest possible wages, creates and maintains an army of unemployed persons. It is for this reason that unemployment and under-employment are never solved so long as capitalist rule exists. Those, who believe that by industrialisation, even under present-day capitalism, the problem of unemployment can be solved, will do well to bear in mind the stern reality that even in the USA, the most industrially developed capitalist country in the world, about five per cent of the total labour-force are at present unemployed, excluding, of course, the employment-seeking students and under-employed persons. The so-called Gandhian panacea of setting up labour-intensive cottage and small-scale industries instead of capital-intensive, large scale sophisticated industrial plants also will fail to solve the problem, not to speak of the absurdness of the proposition. The only way to get rid of the curse of unemployment is to replace the existing capitalist social order, (where the right to work of the people is not recognised) by a socialist society, where every person has the inalienable right to work (a right never and nowhere recognised in the Constitution of any capitalist country), through revolution. For, under socialism unemployment does not exist. The socialist countries are examples of it.

This, of course, does not mean that until socialism is established, nothing should be done to reduce the acuteness of the problem as far as practicable in the circumstances. On the contrary, the

youths and workers must close up their ranks and conduct organised massive movements throughout the country so as to compel the Governments at the Centre and in different states to take effective measures declaring moratorium on retrenchment, lay off and other kinds of forced unemployment. The Central Government should also be compelled to introduce social security schemes against unemployment, old-age, orphanage, widowhood, measures which are internationally recognised and actually in vogue even in many capitalist countries of the West, including backward capitalist countries, as also to step up industrialisation under public sector. The hackneyed plea of shortage of fund taken by the powers-that-be in such cases is absolutely untenable. Drastic cut in the unproductive useless defence expenditure, tightening up the administration of tax collection, reduction of the cost of top bureaucracy, plugging some of the man-holes of wastage, etc. will save several thousand crores of rupees, which can very well be used for introducing the measures, at least to start with. But experience tells us that without organised movements not even a drop of water comes out of the fingers of the authorities. Hence what is called for immediately is to organise the unemployed for a prolonged movement against the Governments and the employer class.

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## Real Aim of Land Reforms Legislation is to clear the Path of Capitalist Development

In the First Five Year Plan it was stated that the pattern of land ownership and cultivation was "a fundamental issue in national development". It even set out a broad outline of the policy which should guide the different State Governments in this regard. In the Second Plan the policy was re-stated and the objective of creating conditions for evolving as speedily as possible "an egalitarian economy with high levels of efficiency and productivity" was aimed at.

It was also stated therein that "an egalitarian society" would be established and "social inequalities" eliminated. The Third Plan envisaged actual implementation of the policy formulated and attainment of the objective aimed at.

The leaders of the Congress (R) and many Congress ministers have, of late, started waxing eloquent on the land reforms done by the different state Governments in course of the Congress administration in the country. It will, therefore, be not out of place to take stock of the situation. The Land Reforms Implementation Committee also had submitted its report. From this report as well as from surveys made from time to time by the Research Programmes Committees under the Planning Commission relating to land reforms it is clear that up till now very little has been done to improve the conditions of the actual tillers of the land.

It is true that the Congress Governments of different states had passed many land reforms laws. Though these laws, in their objects and reasons, mentioned that social inequalities would be eliminated but in practice their real aim was to clear the path for the development of Indian capitalism in the agriculture system and land relations of our country by removing feudal land relations which

remained a stumbling block against freest, widest and speediest development of capitalism, which the present national state of the Indian bourgeoisie has been seeking to achieve.

Who are the feudalists? Mao Tse-tung has defined them as follows: "A landlord is a person who possesses land, who does not engage in labour himself or merely takes part in labour as a supplementary source of income, and who lives by exploiting the peasantry. \*\* exaction of land rent from the peasants is the principal form of his exploitation." (How to Analyse the Classes in the Rural Areas) Thus, those, who exploited the peasants of our country by exacting rent for their land, were feudal landlords. In other words, the holders of intermediary rent-receiving interests, in the main, were the feudal landlords here. When the First Five Year Plan was taken up, intermediary tenures in India, like *Zamindari*, *Jagirs* and *Inams*, constituted a little over 40 per cent, while the *Ryotwary* tenure a little less than the balance 60 per cent of the total agricultural land. Under the *Ryotwary* tenure also a substantial portion of the land used to be cultivated by the tenants-at-will and share-croppers. According to the 1961 Census of every 100 cultivators then, 76 were owner-cultivators, 16 were owner-cum-tenant-

cultivators and only 8 were pure tenant-cultivators. Thus, as a result of the enforcement of land reforms legislation by the Governments in different states intermediary rent-receiving rights in lands have by and large been done away with. It means that the feudal landlord class has been mainly eliminated.

But this has brought very little benefit to the actual tillers. One of the purposes of these land reforms laws was alleged by their framers to be taking away the surplus land of the big *Ryots* and intermediaries above the ceiling of land (different in different states) by the state and distribution of them to landless and poor peasants and agricultural labourers. But this remains a far cry as before. This is because of the fact that the provisions relating to land ceiling, which at least on paper aim at reduction of landed property, which one can own, have, in almost all cases, been circumvented by big landowners through various means in the most unscrupulous manner in collusion with government officials, leaders of the Congress and some other parties and even ministers, resulting in only a fraction of the anticipated land to be vested having been actually vested in the state. The *Jotedars* and the big ex-intermediaries, who after the enforcement of the land reforms laws have become *Jotedars*, have among them kept the major portion of the lands they previously owned. This will be evident from the fact that in 1959-60, top 1 per cent of the households owned 16 per cent, the top 5 per cent owned 40 per cent and the top 10 per cent owned 56 per cent of the total holdings, while the bottom 20 per cent of the

households did not own any land. (Mahalanobis Commission Report). The situation has not improved since then. Of all rural households, small farmers represent 52 per cent and agricultural labourers 24 per cent. This 76 per cent of the total rural households own only 19 per cent of the total cropped area while 24 per cent of the rural households own 81 per cent of the total cropped area. (Towards Growth with Social Justice. India Government Publication. 1970-71) According to Government of India, taking all the states together, about 2.8 lakh hectares i.e. 6.9 lakh acres have been declared surplus and taken possession of by the states up till now. (Vide India 1969) The farce of this show of acquisition of surplus lands is exposed by the fact that in West Bengal alone more than 7 lakh acres were due to be vested in the state whereas the total figure of all the states in India is only 6.9 lakh acres.

About other measures, the less said, the better. Apart from distribution of land to the landless and poor peasants and agricultural labourers, there were the demands for abolition of the system of tenancy-at-will, which is an indirect way of keeping alive intermediary rent-receiving rights in land and of making the tenants-at-will actual owners of the lands they cultivate, abolition of *Barga* system and making the *Bargadars* owners of the lands they cultivate, stopping of all eviction of *Bargadars* from land till they are made owners, exempting the holders of uneconomic holdings from payment of land revenue, replacing the present land revenue system by a system of progressive taxation on

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# Potential Danger of Fascism under Radical Cloak of Congress(R)

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Congress Government been indulgent to these communal organisations. It is well-known that the bureaucracy and the police are infested with communal elements, resulting in the administration and the police openly taking side on communal basis in the name of suppressing communal disturbances (the latest instance is the communal riot at Chaibasa where the police openly made common cause with the Jan Sangh and the RSS against the Muslims). But no action has yet been taken to rid the bureaucracy and the police of the communal elements.

Com. Shibdas Ghosh, our leader and teacher, in his address to the delegates of the National Democratic Convention held in Delhi in November, 1964 said: "In the course of the political movement against imperialism, the Indian people speaking different languages and professing different religions became a nation politically but for failure on the part of the leadership (national bourgeois leadership—Editor, P.E.) of our national liberation movement to accomplish, in the main, the tasks of social and cultural revolutions against feudalism, feudal disunity and free the people from religious bondage for democratization of society, the Indian people remained socially and culturally divided into different communities disunited by religion, caste, language, race, etc." This socio-cultural condition in Indian society is the root cause of communalism. Hence, to eradicate communalism from our society, it is necessary to complete the unaccomplished tasks of social and cultural revolutions, free the people from the bondage of religion and democratize society. It is true that in the present era, more so in our country, the bourgeoisie is incapable of completing these unaccompli-

shed tasks of social and cultural revolutions; they have got to be completed by the working class. So the Indira Congress cannot remove the root cause of communalism, it being a party of the Indian bourgeoisie. Under socialism alone the communal, racial, nationality questions are really solved. But that does not presuppose that it cannot do anything now against communalism. If the ruling Congress is really serious, the Governments led by it at the Centre and in different states can easily ban the preaching of communalism and communal organisations, free the educational institutions from the control and influence of religious bodies and associations and courses of studies from religious matters, rid the bureaucracy and the police of communal elements, prevent the observance of religious customs in state functions, encourage inter-caste, inter-religion marriages and take so many other concrete measures to fight communalism. Has the Indira Congress moved even an inch in this direction? It has not. It is true that at the last AICC session she pleaded guilty on the score but added that they had woken up and "once awakened we are not going to sleep again." A pious sentiment no doubt! But idle sentiment all the same. Our countrymen do not still see any sign of waking up. Otherwise Sm. Gandhi the next moment would not have expressed her inability to ban communal organisations, like the RSS; the AICC would not have avoided to mention the Shiv Sena as a communal organisation. Empty high-sounding words not associated with appropriate actions against communalism means nothing. It is not opposing Hindu communal reaction. If the CPI(M) leadership gets over its weakness of placating Sm. Indira Gandhi and her Government

just for gaining some petty party interests, it will realise without any difficulty that the vague verbal exercise, which Sm. Gandhi had made in the last AICC session, against Hindu communalism in general, making at the same time abundantly clear her intention not to take any action against the communal forces and organisations, is nothing short of chicanery practised on the masses with an eye to the coming general election, a subterfuge to try to win over the Muslim voters without at the same time displeasing her Hindu communal supporters. None but a servile sycophant regards this political line of the ruling Congress as genuinely against Hindu communal reaction. It is a pity that the CPI(M) leadership has failed to detect this game by the ruling Congress,

Now we very often hear of this truly democratic party, that progressive force, so on and so forth. But what is the criterion of judgment? The line of demarcation between a progressive and a reactionary now lies in whether or not he is free from bias against communism, supports the just class struggles by the exploited people against vested interests and is one with the masses of the workers, poor peasants and other sections of exploited people. In the present era when the world social forces are divided into two camps, the camp of socialism and the camp of imperialism, one cannot be democratic, even in the liberal bourgeois democratic sense, by being hostile to the ideology of communism. In the present co-relation of world social forces anti-communism is historically bound to become pro-imperialism. Look at the world history and you will find that the champions of democracy of yesterday have become the enemies of democracy and social progress of today because of their hostility to

communism and consequent refuge in the lap of imperialists. Similarly, patriotism now demands support to the just class struggles of the workers, poor peasants and other exploited masses of the people against their respective exploiters and oppressors. To oppose these struggles on any plea means to side with the exploiters and the oppressors. To be not one with the masses of the people objectively tantamounts to directly or indirectly helping the enemies of the people. By helping the exploiters, oppressors, enemies of the people, one can never be patriotic, democratic or progressive. Apply this standard and you will find that the Indira wing of the Congress is fundamentally no less anti-people, pro-capitalist than the Syndicate Congress.

In this connection we like to reproduce the relevant portion of the resolution adopted on 30th August, 1969 by the Central Committee of the SUCI under the leadership of Com. Shibdas Ghosh, on bank nationalization in our country. The resolution, among others, stated; "...the present conflict inside the Congress, centring the Syndicate-group and the Indira-group, is not a struggle between the monopolists collaborating with imperialism and the so-called "progressive national bourgeoisie," a close ally of "people's democratic revolution," or, in general terms, between reaction and progress. It is nothing but a reflection of the contradiction between the conservative section of the bourgeoisie representing individual interests of the monopolists and the so-called radical section of the bourgeoisie representing aggregate interest of capitalism", Indira Congress representing the latter.

It must not be forgotten that fascism requires for its growth and development in a

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## DSO'S Call for United Student Movement

Towards the end of June last a conference of the Boards of Secondary Education in our country was held at New Delhi. The conference convened by the Central Board of Secondary Education was attended by thirty delegates from thirteen State Education Boards, the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) and the Central Board of Secondary Education.

The examination system obtaining at present in India formed the main topic of discussion of the conference. The conference in its first resolution recommended the setting up of a permanent association of different Boards of Secondary Education more or less on the lines of the Inter-University Board. It also drew up a scheme, in the words of the conference, to rationalise examinations in order to "improve the standards of education and introduce certain liberalisations for weaker students so that wastage at the school leaving stage is reduced."

The scheme suggests that (i) the minimum pass marks in any subject should be 40 per cent; (ii) a student who secures at least 40 per cent marks in every subject will be declared to have passed; (iii) a student will also be declared to have passed if he secures a minimum of 40 per cent marks in all the prescribed subjects except one provided he has an aggregate of at least 35 per cent marks in all the subjects; (iv) 75 per cent or more marks in any one subject will be considered distinction in that subject; (v) the securing of a minimum of 60, 50 or 35 per cent marks in the aggregate in all the subjects will entitle a student to be placed in the first, second or third division respectively; (vi) a student failing in one subject but not securing at least 35 per cent marks in the aggregate will be declared compartmental; (vii) a compartmental candidate may appear in the next regular examination in all the prescribed subjects or in the next supplementary ex-

amination in the subject in which he has failed; (viii) a student who has failed in one subject but declared to have passed for securing a minimum of 35 per cent marks in the aggregate in all the prescribed subjects will be free to appear in the next supplementary examination and get a fresh certificate; (ix) every candidate will be free to appear in a subsequent regular examination to improve his or her division; and (x) a student is permitted to clear the subjects in parts spread over two years at the high school, higher secondary, intermediate and pre-university or pre-degree stage, if it is of two years' course.

We all know that about 35 per cent of the candidates appearing for the high school and 40 per cent of those appearing for the higher secondary examination fail on an average every year (the number of unsuccessful candidates in those examinations is about 10 lakhs every year) showing colossal wastage of human effort, energy, time and money. This is simply disastrous for families occupying the lower rung of our society. It is also well-known that the quality of the products of our education system, judged by average standard, is low barring a few who occupy top positions. All this calls for immediate education reforms. But the conference found no time to discuss and devise ways and means to tackle the problem.

There is already in the air the demands for examination reforms, for revision of courses of studies, for improvement of methods of teaching, for

switching over to mother tongues as media of instruction and examination, etc. Since these matters vitally concern the student community, the authorities must seek the opinions and co-operation of different student organisations functioning in the country. The students, like the teachers, educationists and others interested in the advancement of learning, must have a say in matters concerning education. But it seems that neither the governments nor the universities nor the Boards of Secondary Education in different states are in a mood to take the student community into confidence even in such matters vitally concerning the students, otherwise how could the conference referred to above completely ignore the student organisations. The conference could very well ask for suggestions from the student organisations without the least injury to the former's sense of inflated ego and prestige. General Secretary of the Democratic Students Organisation, Com. Provas Ghosh, has, in a statement, requested the different student organisations to move in the matter so as to compel the authorities to give due weight to the suggestions of theirs.

### Party School of Politics in Bihar

Party School of Politics for this year for Bihar was held at Ranchi from 11th to 13th July last, both days inclusive. Com. Shibdas Ghosh, General Secretary of the SUCI, conducted the school. The course of study, among others, included fundamentals of dialectical materialism, historical materialism, the present international situation with special reference to the international communist movement, the national situation, particularly the stage of Indian revolution, the character of the CPI and the CPI(M), the process of development of a *real* Commu-

## RADICAL CLOAK OF CONGRESS (R)

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country a radical cloak without which it becomes impossible to enlist mass support behind it. Social-Democratic programmes provide that radical cloak. Conservatism has not that radical cloak. It openly advocates for the privileges of a discredited class and, consequently, cannot drag the masses behind it. It is for this reason, historically speaking also, fascism has nowhere and never come out of the womb of conservatism. It is Social-Democracy with its radical cloak that had in the past created and still creates conditions for the birth, growth and development of fascism. The Indira Congress with its so-called radical Social-Democratic programme has more of the potential danger of fascism in it compared to the Syndicate Congress. Those who claim themselves to be genuine left parties, therefore, cannot take upon themselves the tasks of placating Sm. Indira Gandhi and her Government or of trying to discover in them "a healthy trend which hates big landlords and monopolists" or even of presenting the political line of the ruling Congress as opposed to the danger of Hindu communal reaction, which the CPI(M) leadership has been doing. Their duty is to take advantage of the contradiction between the two wings of the Congress, the Indira wing and the Syndicate wing, try to increase the rift between them and utilise it in developing mighty mass movements and accelerating the revolutionary preparation of the country. In their own interest, the interest of emancipation from the yoke of capitalist exploitation and oppression, our people must support in every way that party and that party alone which is following this correct line. The SUCI is that party.

nist Party and the necessity of making the SUCI strong. Workers, supporters and sympathisers of the Party from all districts of Bihar attended the school.



## WORKERS ARE BEING FLEEDED MORE RUTHLESSLY

( By a Staff Reporter )

The workers in the organised private sector, to be more precise, in the major industries in West Bengal, have been agitating for revision of their wage-structures, including the dearness allowance, according to ever-soaring cost of living. The employers, their hirelings, some so-called intellectuals and economists and almost the entire bourgeois press are conducting slanderous campaign against the workers and employees in West Bengal for this demand.

Our people should know the exact situation. Every one knows that West Bengal is one of the most industrially developed areas in India. It produces about 21 per cent of India's coal, 30 per cent of pig iron, 25 per cent of finished steel, 50 per cent of storage batteries, 65 per cent of sewing machines, 70 per cent of electric fans, 60 per cent of railway wagons, 55 per cent of motor cycles, 20 per cent of cycles, 66 per cent of motor cars, 50 per cent of paints and varnishes, 30 per cent of soap and 20 per cent of paper, to mention some of the major commodities produced here. In 1965-66, West Bengal contributed to 11.4 per cent of the gross national product. The foreign exchange earnings of India come almost wholly from products produced in West Bengal.

All this is due to the workers and employees in West Bengal. But they are neglected, not paid their dues even according to the standard of what the workers and employees get in other states in India and are forced to lead a life of penury. Take the case of average per capita annual earnings of factory workers in West Bengal. It was Rs. 204 in 1966 (officially available latest figure) which came up to Rs. 168.7 per month. The average per capita annual earnings of factory workers in Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Tamil

Nadu, Delhi and Goa Daman Diu were higher than that in West Bengal. This does not mean that the workers of other states are getting their dues. Mind that this is not just wage; it is total earnings. Is it a fair deal to the workers and employees of West Bengal for their laudable contribution to the total economy of the country even according to bourgeois standard? Let the hirelings of the employer class answer it.

Besides, it cannot be forgotten also that, in spite of some monetary increase, the real earnings of the workers are declining almost every year. Even official statistics cannot conceal this reality. Whereas the index of real earnings of workers was 103 in the year 1963 (Base year 1961=100), it came down to 97 in 1965 and further came down to 95 in 1966. This establishes the fact that the workers are not being paid more; on the contrary, they are being fleeced more ruthlessly by the employers. This position is true not only for the workers in West Bengal but also for the workers in all other states in India.

Though the real earnings of the workers are declining almost every year, the profits of the employers are not coming down; rather they are going up. According to a survey of selected 1501 public limited companies made by the Reserve Bank of India, value of production rose by Rs. 504 crores (11.2 per cent) in 1966-67 compared to the previous year; aggregate sales

## ORGANISE COUNTRY-WIDE PEASANT MOVEMENT

(Continued from page 5)

agricultural income in such a way as not to hurt the middle peasants, remission of all debts of poor peasants and landless peasants to the Governments more than three years old, moratorium of old debts to private money lenders, amendment of the money lenders laws to the interests of the peasants, fixation of working hours and irreducible minimum wages of agricultural labourers, etc., etc. During the twenty three years of independence the rulers of our country have not moved even an inch to legislate on these vital demands of the poor and landless peasants and agricultural labourers. This fact alone is sufficient enough to expose the real character of the Congress (R).

The Five Year Plans speak of the objective of establishing "egalitarian society" and elimination of social inequalities. The Congress (R) leaders are

crying hoarse over their 'sincerity' and 'seriousness' in achieving this objective. But what is the reality? The total value of tangible wealth of rural households at the end of June, 1962, according to an estimate made by the Reserve Bank of India, stood at Rs 36,156 crores. The households in the two highest asset groups (above Rs 20,000 and Rs 20,000 to Rs 10,000), which formed about 13 per cent of the rural households, held about 58 per cent of the total tangible wealth of rural India, while the lowest two asset groups (Rs 1,000 to Rs 500 and less than Rs 500), forming 30 per cent of the total households, had only 2.5 per cent of the total tangible wealth (Vide India 1969)

This is "egalitarian society" of Indira brand. The Congress (O) does not speak of egalitarian society. Their true colour is, therefore, quite clear to our common men. But under cloak of so-called radicalism and with constant lip service to socialism and egalitarian

## CAT IS OUT OF THE BAG

Shri Promode Das Gupta, CPI(M) leader, is reported in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (dated 17th July last) to have said: "When we were in Government, we were sure that police would not arrest us and during that period the CPM had resisted the Naxals and practically drove them out from the rural arena." This admission by Shri Das Gupta testifies to the fact that when Jyoti Babu was the Home Minister in the last U.P. Government in West Bengal, police would not arrest the CPM workers and supporters even though the latter were guilty of serious crimes like physical assault of workers and supporters of other parties, murdering them, looting their properties, setting fire to their houses, etc. Is it not a proof of using the administration for petty selfish party interests by the CPM? Truth cannot be kept concealed for all time.

(net of rebate and discount) rose by Rs. 518 crores; over all gross profits improved by Rs. 31 crores (8.8 per cent) and profits after tax rose by Rs. 4 crores. (Vide *Reserve Bank of India Bulletin*, August, 1969). Even taking into account the fall in the value of rupees in the corresponding period due to higher cost of commodities, the rate of profits remains higher.

In the circumstances, any really democratic-minded person cannot but support the workers' just demand for revision of wages according to the cost of living.

society based on social justice, the Indira Congress is carrying on the same pro-capitalist pro-Jotedar policy. It is, therefore, more difficult for the politically unconscious people to realise the true colour of the Congress (R). It is harder to defeat an enemy in disguise than to defeat an open enemy. The disguised enemy is more dangerous also. For, the people may, in the case of a disguised enemy, not remain as vigilant as they should be. The toiling people of India should realise it and, accordingly, remain ever guarded against it.